

## **The Letters from the son of the “Captive Nations” to John F. Kennedy, R. Nixon, and R. Reagan**

**Tsira Chikvaidze**

*The University of Georgia (Georgia)*

### **ABSTRACT**

Georgian emigrant Ivane (Vano) Nanuashvili (1902-1974), who lived in the US from 1951, sent the letters, article, brochure, and book: “The Middle East and the Cold War” (1958), “The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R.” (1956), “What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia” (1973) to J. Kennedy, R. Nixon, and R. Reagan. The letters and publications aim to convey to American politicians his vision of Russia's aggressive policy and try to show the Western world the picture of the USSR from inside, saying that “Russia’s aggression is not solely an action of the Communist Party”. The aim of this research is to present V. Nanuashvili’s unknown letters to American politicians and answers to them from his personal archive (K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi) and his publications. To analyse these primary sources, historical research methods such as documentary, biographical, and archival methods were used. This article deals with V. Nanuashvili’s position regarding the origins and nature of the Russian state and society and Russia's policy during the “Cold War.” It highlights the key question: What the representative of the Captive Nations wants to say to the free world about the political structure of the Russian Empire, the doctrine of “Cold War,” and the ideology of the Russian nation.

In N. Nanuashvili’s publications, Russia is presented as a state that will never relinquish the idea of the world domination and one of the biggest conquerors of the world, and that conquest is a characteristic of the Russian tradition. In order to fully analyse the sources, here were used the general scientific (qualitative research) and the exploratory literature review methods too. Since V. Nanuashvili's personal archive is still under development, his letters to American politicians have not been examined by scholars, and this article is the first attempt to do so. Also, one of his publications "The Middle East and the Cold War" (Nanuashvili, 1958) is being presented and analyzed for the first time.. These factors determine the novelty and relevance of the presented research.

**Keywords:** “Cold War”; Georgia; Nanuashvili V.; Russia; Soviet Regime

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Paris, France

## 1. Introduction

In 1921, after the occupation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia by the Bolshevik 11th Red Army of Soviet Russia, the Georgian government emigrated to France, where it worked in exile. Independent Georgia became a Soviet republic. Many Georgians were forced to leave their homeland. Among them was Ivane (Vano) Jan Nanuashvili, who continued to fight against the Soviet regime in emigration through his publications and as a publicist.

After the collapse of the USSR, it was possible to bring the most important emigrant materials—archival documents, periodicals, political literature, books, etc., written and printed by Georgians abroad—from different countries to Georgia. For a long time, this emigrant political literature was completely unknown in Georgia.

V. Nanuashvili's personal archive, which was handed over to the Korneli Kekelidze's Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (Tbilisi) in 2000, is still being processed.

The Georgian researchers are more or less familiar with V. Nanuashvili's book "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia," which was translated and published in Georgian in 2012, and also with his articles which were written and published in Georgian, not in English, but his letters to American politicians are fully unknown to both Georgian and international readers and scientists.

## 2. Body of paper

### *Methods*

The aim of this research is to present V. Nanuashvili's unknown letters to American politicians and answers to them from his personal archive (K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts) and his publications. To analyse these primary sources, historical research methods such as documentary, biographical, and archival methods were used. This article deals with V. Nanuashvili's position regarding the origins and nature of the Russian state and society and Russia's policy during the "Cold War." It highlights the key question: What the representative of the Captive Nations wants to say to the free world about the political structure of the Russian Empire, the doctrine of "Cold War," and the ideology of the Russian nation. In order to fully analyse the sources, here were used the general scientific (qualitative research) and the exploratory literature review methods too.

Since V. Nanuashvili's personal archive is still under development, his letters to American politicians have not been examined by scholars, and this article is the first attempt to do so. Also, one of his publications "The Middle East and the Cold War" (Nanuashvili, 1958) is being presented and analyzed for the first time. V. Nanuashvili's book "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia," (1973) was reviewed by Georgian historian O.Janelidze, who gave only a general and not a detailed analysis of it. In this article, some of the chapters of the book and topics, for example "Captive Nations", significance of the year 1956, are

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covered in greater details. These factors determine the novelty and relevance of the presented research.

### *Results and Discussion*

#### **Who is Ivane (Vano) Jan Nanuashvili?**

Ivane (Vano) Jan Nanuashvili (1902–1974) was a Georgian publicist, a military person, and a political emigrant.

Vano Nanuashvili as a military person: in 1919, he became a Yunker<sup>1</sup> and was trained at the Military Officers' School in Tiflis, the Democratic Republic of Georgia. Later, Vano became one of the first officers to the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921). He fought against the 11th Red Army of Soviet Russia in February 1921. After the occupation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia by Soviet Russia, Vano emigrated first to Turkey, then to Greece, and later to Poland (1923–1925). He was associated with some military staff schools in Europe: the Greek Military Academy in Athens (1921–1922) and the Military Academy of Warsaw (1923–1925) (Janelidze, 2013., pp. 290–201). During the World War II, as a captain of the Polish Army, he fought against the Nazis and fascists in Poland and Italy. After the World War II, Vano Nanuashvili ceased his military activity and moved to London. In 1951, he emigrated to the US, where he lived until the end of his life.

Vano Nanuashvili, as a publicist: In emigration, he published his articles in the journal "Mkhedari," which was published in Paris in 1929–1937, in Georgian. He was a member of the editorial board of the journal "Chveni Gza" ("Our Way"), issued in 1953–1961, in New York. In the US, V. Nanuashvili wrote and published the following works:

1. The article "The Middle East and the Cold War, " was published in June 1958 in the American magazine "The Ukrainian Quarterly," which was issued by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). UCCA is a not-for-profit, non-partisan community-based organization that has represented the interests of Ukrainians in the United States since 1940.
2. A Brochure "The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R.: What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia," published in 1956 in Boston, and
3. The book, "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia," was printed in New York in 1973. In 2012, this book was translated into Georgian and published in Tbilisi.

#### **The Letters of Ivane (Vano) Jan Nanuashvili**

Vano Nanuashvili's personal archive, which is still being processed, contains 1364 different materials and items. Among them are his letters to John Kennedy, Harry Truman, Richard Nixon, and Ronald Reagan, which are introduced to an international audience for the first time. Along with the letters, he sent his books and articles to American politicians. All of these letters

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<sup>1</sup> Yunker was a term for student of any military school.

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and publications' aim is to convey to American politicians his vision of Russia's aggressive policy. He tries to show the Western world that "Russia's aggression is not solely an action of the Communist Party. Fundamentally, it is *Russian national* aggression." (Nanuashvili, 1958. p.156).

In 1954–1960, Vano lived in Boston, and on August 31, 1958, he wrote a letter and sent it to John Kennedy, who was a Senator from the state of Massachusetts at the time.

The letter is enclosed with his article, "The Middle East and the Cold War."

"Dear Sir,

Knowing your interest in questions concerning the U.S.S.R. I am taking liberty of sending you, under separate cover, my article "The Middle East and the Cold War", printed in the June issue of the "Ukrainian Quarterly", p.149.

This article reveals the state of mind of people, who are struggling against Russian domination through several generations.

It is possible, that these representing the current policy of the western powers, are not of the same opinion; nevertheless it is necessary to be aware how qualified the same political events elements engaged in merciless straggle against Russia"

Very truly Yours,

Vano J. Nanuashvili " (V. Nanuashvili's personal, # 699; #391).

J. Kennedy's answer was the following:

"Dear Mr.Nanuashvili:

"Thank you for the issue of the Ukrainian Quarterly, conteining your article "The Middle East and the Cold War".

I was most grateful to you for letting me read your views on this important question and for giving me the benefit of your informed opinions.

With every good wish,

Sincerely Yours,

John F. Kennnedy" (V. Nanuashvili's personal, # 699).

A year later, on September 18, 1957, V. Nanuashvili got a letter from H. Truman from the city of Independence, Missouri. It was an answer from the former U.S. president to Vano's letter: "Thank you very much for your brochure entitled "The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R.". I hope to read it with a great deal of interest. You were very kind and thoughtful sending it to me." (V. Nanuashvili's personal, # 699 ).Why Truman? This is a period of the height of the Cold War, a policy of Soviet containment, the Truman Doctrine, etc. Of course, it was Truman who set a red line against the USSR. There is one thought too: after his second term of presidency, in 1953, Truman and his wife Bess (Elizabeth Virginia) moved to Independence, where he was raised and where he founded his presidential library. Maybe V. Nanuasvili had hope that his book would find its place at the Harry S. Truman's presidential library.

In V. Nanuashvili's personal archive, there are four letters written to Richard Nixon. The first letter was written in Boston on January 20, 1960, during Nixon's tenure as US Vice

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President. This letter is enclosed with V. Nanuashvili's brochure "The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R." (1956):

"Dear Mr. Vice President:

At the suggestion of my good friend Mr. Jon P. Speller, Secretary to Captain S.M. Riis<sup>2</sup>, former United States Naval Attache to the American Embassy in Russia, I am taking the liberty of sending you, under separate cover, my brochure entitled: "The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R. What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia".

I believe that you will find this of interest, because of your many years of experience in fighting Communism, and your outstanding ability in Moscow. You will note that much that happened since the publication of this brochure in 1956 is readily foreseen through the background provided therein. It is my hope that this volume will be of some slight use, and that what I have learned from my years of struggle for independence of Georgia is of service to my new homeland.

Very truly yours,

Vano J. Nanuashvili, Captain of the General Staff." (V. Nanuashvili's personal, ## 414).

From 1960, V. Nanuashvili lived in San Francisco, and the next three letters addressed to Nixon were written in this city: the second letter was written on March 10, 1972, when Nixon was already the president; the third letter was written on October 10, 1972, in the name of Nixon's election headquarters, during his re-election campaign for the Re-Election of the President (V. Nanuashvili's personal, ## 415, 416).

The fourth letter to President Nixon is dated on March 4, 1974:

"Dear President,

The current development of the world's international situation and great importance of the problems of U.S.S.R. in this situation, emboldens me to take the liberty of sending You, under separate cover, recently published my book: "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia"

The book is representing the picture of USSR from inside, how it appears to the majority of this country – to the Captive Nations. Beyond the Official information from the USSR self and other sources, may be it useful to know also the mind of the majority of the population of this country, which are representing the Captive Nations as one whole category.

Very truly yours,

Jan.V. Nanuashvili (V. Nanuashvili's personal, 417).

On March 15, 1974, in San Francisco, Vano Nanuashvili wrote a letter that was intended for the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan. (V. Nanuashvili's personal, # 437). Traditionally,

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<sup>2</sup> S.M. Riis (1883-1963)- Naval Attache to the U.S embassy to Russia in 1917-1918.

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the letter was accompanied by his book, "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia."

As V. Nanuasvili explained and stressed in his letters, his publications are “representing the picture of the USSR from inside, how it appears to the majority of this country – to the Captive Nations.” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal #417); “It is the voice of the Captive Nations and objective study on the level of the General staff.” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal, #415). Through his publications, V. Nanuashvili wanted to show “the state of mind of people who are struggling against Russian domination through several generations” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal, # 391); and he hoped that “beyond the Official information from the USSR and other sources, it might be useful to know also the opinion of the majority of the population of this country, which are representing the Captive Nations as a one whole category.” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal, #417); and that it “will be of some slight use, and that what I have learned from my years of the struggle for the independence of Georgia is of a service to my new homeland.” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal, #414).

In his letters written after 1972, V. Nanuasvili used the term “captive nations”: “All American citizens of nationality of Captive Nations, and especially Georgians, are recognizing unanimously the international action of President R. Nixon as utterly correct. Please be sure that every person from Captive Nations, without any exception will vote for the re-election of the President.” (V. Nanuashvili’s personal, #416). The term “captive nations” arose in the United States to describe “many nations throughout the world that have been made captive by the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Soviet communism, and the peoples of the Soviet-dominated nations that have been deprived of their national independence and their individual liberties” (Proclamation 3303).

During the Cold War, in 1959 the Captive Nations Week Resolution was approved by the United States Congress and signed into Public Law 86-90 by the President Dwight D. Eisenhower. According to this resolution, “the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue the proclamation designating the third week of July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue the similar proclamation each year until the freedom and independence would have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world. “ (Public Law). Georgia was on the list of “Captive Nations.”

The author and lobbyist of the Captive Nations Week Resolution is the American-born son of Ukrainian immigrants, Lev Eugene Dobriensky (1918–2008). He was a chairman of the editorial board of the journal “The Ukrainian Quarterly”.

### **Publications of Ivane (Vano) Jan Nanuashvili**

From V. Nanuashvilis's publications, we'll focus on those that he sent to American politicians along with letters: an article “The Middle East and the Cold War” (1958) and the brochure “The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R.: What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia” (1956). To this brochure, which consists of 16 chapters, Vano later added an extra four chapters, and in 1973, he published the completed book “What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia.”

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An article “The Middle East and Cold and Could War“ was published in June, 1958 in the American magazine „The Ukrainian Quarterly“ , Vol, XIV, Number 2 (Nanuashvili, 1958., pp.149-156). “The Ukrainian Quarterly“ was issued by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). UCCA is a not-for-profit, non-partisan community-based organization, which has represented the interests of Ukrainians in the United States since 1940 (Ukrainian, p.1).

The following issues are highlighted in this article: Importance of Syria, Russia's Current Target and Cold War (Nanuashvili, 1958. p.149). In the introduction to the article, V. Nanuashvili notes that although the "Cold War" is going on all over the world, the most significant action is taking place in the Middle East, namely in Syria. He notes that for that time, “the entire Middle East was the ultimate goal of Russia's strategy”. (Nanuashvili, 1958. p.149). The author analyzes the role of Syria and its importance for Russia since the time of the First World War, when the territory of modern Syria was part of the three provinces (vilayets) of the Ottoman Empire: Beirut, Aleppo, and Damascus Vilayet.

Why Syria? The "Cold War" that started after the end of the Second World War also covered the Middle East. The Kremlin was looking for allies in this most important region and targeted Syria. In 1945, the Soviet Union supported Syria's membership in the United Nations, which was opposed by France, Great Britain, and the United States. The Soviet Union sent Soviet officers to train the Syrian army. Syria at that time was already governed by an anti-Western ruling elite with close ties to Moscow. The Kremlin helped Syria in 1955-1957, when the country was on the brink of the war with Turkey. During the rule of Nikita Khrushchev, Damascus received a lot of military and financial support. Trade relations between the Soviet Union and Syria began in 1956. (Songulashvili, 2021. pp.298-299, 301).

In his article, V. Nanuashvili talks about the strategic importance of Syria and notes what Russia can do in case of need: “The ports on the Mediterranean nearest to Russia are in Syria. No army can stop the march of Russia's armed forces from the Caucasus to these ports... Advance Russian military units in Syria would be able to sustain themselves until Russia's armed forces from the Caucasus reached Syria... For Russia, occupation of Syria from Egypt is not possible, but the occupation of Egypt from Syria is possible“ (Nanuashvili, 1958, p.151-152).

V. Nanuashvili's most significant publication is the book "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know About Russia“, published in 1973 in the US (386 pages). The book consists of 20 chapters, and as we mentioned, 16 of its chapters were written in 1956. 1956 is the period of the first phase of the "Cold War", when such organizations as NATO (1949) and the Warsaw Pact (1955)- the USSR's answer to it and as an instrument to safeguard Soviet hegemony over its Eastern European satellites - were already formed. This is the period when any deviation from Moscow's orthodox interpretation of Marxism-Leninism by a Pact member state was realigned by the use of armed force in order to keep them from breaking away.

So it was in one of the Soviet satellite states of Hungary in 1956, when the Hungarian Revolution, a rebellion in Budapest to protest against the USSR's hegemony, was crushed by Soviet tanks and troops. By 1956, the events of the first phase of the “Cold War” had already

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taken place, such as: Berlin Blockade (1948–1949), the Chinese Communist Revolution (1945–1949), the Korean War (1950–1953) and by that that time, the goal of V. Nanuashvili, as he notes in the Preface of the book, was: “it is necessary for the Free World to view the reality of world’s events objectively and to analyze past and present political events and situations with a minimum of bias.” (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.V).

In the first chapter of the book "Peace" Nanuashvili discusses the political situation in the world at that time and notes that the world is divided into two camps: One is the red camp - Russia and its enslaved nations, and the other is the rest of the world. The goals of these two camps are completely different. “The present-day world is divided into two camps. One of them, under the domination of Russia, is composed of the enslaved nations. Under the name of the U.S.S.R. the Russian Red Empire has subjugated the major part of Europe and Asia, and regards the subjunction of the entire world as its principal objective... On the opposite side is the rest of the world, the free nations with democratic traditions... The basic and sincere desire of Camp No. 2 is the maintenance of peace .“ (Nanuashvili, 1973., pp.15-17).

V. Nanuashvili in the sixth chapter of the book "Third Camp" places two groups of countries under the rule of Russia in the camp of captured nations: 1. Countries, which lost their independence after 1921 and 2. Countries, which came under the control of the Soviet Union after World War II. (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.85). Nanuashvili notes that the primary goal of these nations is to fight for freedom and independence and against conquests. “ The first aim of all these nations has always been, and still is, to obtain national freedom and right to organize their own states... The Third Camp’s reason for being is to fight all manifestations of conquest.“ (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.90, 92).

The book often talks about the fate of captive nations, the ways of their liberation and the importance of their independence. “the question of freedom and political independence of Captive Nations is an urgent, immediate problem of mankind... The liberation of the subjugated nations opens wide new perspectives in the direction of new political possibilities. It will be possible to organize permanent political cooperation among those nations which have the conditions necessary for uniting in the form of federation or confederation (Nanuashvili, 1973., pp. 340, 91 ). V. Nanuashvili singles out the issue of "Captive Nations" as a separate paragraph in the last chapter of the book, Chapter XX, The Current World Situation, and talks about it in more detail.

The 8th, 9th and 10th chapters of the book are: Tsarist Russia; Red Russia; The Russian Nation's Idea, where the author reviews the 400-year history of Russia from Ivan the Terrible to the Soviet period.

In the article and in Chapter 2 of the book, he refers to the "Cold War" doctrine. He notes that the cold war is a perennial tactic of Russia, doesn't matter if Russia is Tsarist, Bolshevik or Communist: “in the minds of the free world, the present cold war has been going on since 1945, but it really started prior to the World War II ... In Russia’s history, the cold war has a tradition spanning over 400 years.” (Nanuashvili, 1958., p.154). “Russia will not abandon the “cold war” which it has practiced, with such success, since the days of Ivan the Terrible up to



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the present day, and to which Tsarist Russia owed greatest triumphs." (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.326).

The issue of the "Cold War" is understood as the destruction of the adversary through the peaceful political actions. "As the author accurately puts it, it is the perennial tradition of the Russian state that "expansion during the time of peace has led to a political success and territorial growth" – the paradox of it all being "struggle during peace time, peaceful conquest" (Dobriansky, 1958., p.280). In his article and in some chapters of his book, V. Nanuashvili describes how "Tsarist" and later Bolshevik Russia used "Cold War" methods to achieve expansionist goals. "To realize its goal, Russia needs peace at any price, the kind of peace that it is enjoying right now. What is now called "cold war" by the western nations was the dream of Lenin in 1918, which he called, "Neither war nor peace." It is in such a time of "peace" that Russia is able to carry on a cold war and obtain such astonishing results – results which it could never achieve by the conventional war." (Nanuashvili, 1958., p.152). V. Nanuashvili repeated this and came back to a similar opinion in his book: "The "Cold War" is designed on a global long-range scale. It must achieve its objectives without war; the opponent must be destroyed by peaceful political action" (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.25).

V. Nanuashvili notes that Russia's tactic is to isolate the countries to be conquered first, and then through internal conflict, without waging an open war, on the basis of the request of these countries, to enter their army and occupy them. To approve this method, V. Nanuashvili gives examples of Ukraine and Georgia: "... Ukraine in the 17th century and Georgia in the 19th century - these countries sought Russia's support only to strengthen their independence, but Russia wanted to exploit these territories for different goal...."the component parts of the Russian Empire – the Kingdom of Kazan, Ukraine, Poland, and the South Caucasus –were gained by Russia only through cold war" (Nanuashvili, 1958., p.155).

V. Nanuashvili's goal is to show the aggressive nature of the U.S.S.R. and the threats that come from communist propaganda. According to the author, communism was organically integrated into the internal structure of Russia, which became a direct weapon of the Russian national idea to dominate the world. Communism led to an increase in the aggressiveness of the Russian nation, and the internal arrangement of Russia directly reflected and affected international relations (Janelidze, 2013., p.294). V. Nanuashvili considers that the one mistake of the West is its attitude regarding communism. "The West mistake is that it envisages a very short-range struggle against Communism. It feels that it will end once and for all after the Communist system in Russia has been Liquidated. Besides painful disappointments, this concept contains very great danger. As previously said, Communism possesses certain characteristics of preventive inoculation. A country where the Communist system has existed as completely immune to a reappearance of that system. When Russia becomes liberated from it, Communism will never be a threat again. However, a state which extended from the Pacific to the Eibe will never relinquish the idea of the word domination. " (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.326).

In the above-mentioned V. Vanuashvili's article and in Chapter XVI—Flood of Errors—of his book, he notes about other mistakes of the West. These mistakes are: "The Western world does not know the doctrine of the cold war. The free world does not understand the ideology

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of the Russian nation. The West does not know the political structure of the Russian Empire.” (Nanuashvili, 1958., p.153). Also, “the idea that the word crisis has been caused only by Bolsheviks; that if Communism did not exist in Russia, a bucolic idyll would now prevail on earth “(Nanuashvili, 1973., p.284); the tendency of the Western states to connect and unite the conquered and Russian “peoples” in the fight against communism.” The West cannot understand why the Subjugated nations did not and do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people. “(Nanuashvili, 1973., p.289).

In the 18th chapter of the book, “The Turning of the Tide. The critical year of 1956”, V. Nanuashvili discusses why 1956 is a decisive and turning year for the "Moscow Empire". He notes that the beginning of the decline of most empires usually dates from a war or battle. The decline of Russia's political power began on March 8-9, 1956 in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. The demands of the peaceful protesters for the restoration of the country's national freedom were followed by Russian tanks, bayonets and casualties. (Nanuashvili, 1973., p. 338 ).

It should be noted that the March demonstrations were also the protests against Nikita Khrushchev's<sup>3</sup> de-Stalinization<sup>4</sup> policy, although V. Nanuashvili does not mention this in his book. Also, the author's assessment of the events in Tbilisi is a bit exaggerated: “Georgia triggered liberation struggles in all the nations captured by Russia. After the Georgian revolt soon started fermentation in the Ukraine, in June blood was flowing in Poland in the streets of Poznan, and from October 23 to November 4 Russian tanks thundered through the streets of Budapest.“ (Nanuashvili, 1973., p. 339). 1956, for the first time after the Second World War, created a crack in the red empire, but the following assessment of the author is also somewhat exaggerated: „ after the world War II ... it appeared that the Kremlin had reached the final stage before world domination, the year 1956 brought an abrupt and irreconcilable end to this ambition and clearly outlined the rapid approach of the inevitable end of existence of empire.“ (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.371).

The book ends by describing the world political situation in 1973 and again, by talking about the peace. In the last Chapter XX, The Current World Situation, V. Nanuashvili notes that three elements, such as 1. a desire for peace; 2. a last empire's desire—the Russian empire's (under a camouflage of communism) desire for world domination; and 3.the struggle of the captive nations for liberation and national identity—shaped the political situation in the world in the 1970s of the XX century (Nanuashvili, 1973., p. 368). He believes that the establishment of solid and durable world peace is prevented by the Soviet Union and its communist ideology. “The present USSR is preventing such a peace from coming about due to its imagination by which it is able to dominate the whole world and dictate its conditions of existence to conquered

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<sup>3</sup> Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev (1894 – 1971) was the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964

<sup>4</sup> De-Stalinization - comprised a series of political reforms in the Soviet Union after the death of long-time leader Joseph Stalin in 1953.

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mankind.” (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.369). As for the communist ideology of the USSR, V. Nanuashvili notes that on the one hand communism is a theory for the organization of the internal life of the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, “a successive tool for Russia to realize its old national goal of world domination.” (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.371).

Nanuashvili believes that at the beginning of the 1970s, the struggle of the countries that were behind the "Iron Curtain" and were part of the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union, i.e. “the Captive and Satellite Nations” to preserve their national identity and physical existence, is an important factor in the world of the Soviet Union to prevent the aspiration to domination. He believes that the military potential of the Captive Nations is a considerable force in the hands of Russia, and this is one of the determinants of its strength, but „if this potential were removed from Moscow’s military apparatus, the world would be able to establish the lasting durable peace. At the present the problems of establishing a well-grounded peace, and the consolidation of the freedom of the Free World, directly depends on the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia. These nations must be liberated regardless of the seasonal colour of Russia’s government, communist-red or tsarist-white.” (Nanuashvili, 1973., p.372).

The first response and review of V. Nanuashvili's book published in 1973 belongs to Georgian immigrants. In particular, in 1974, Georgian historian in exile Aleksandre Manvelishvili published a very positive review in the magazine “Tavisuflebis Tribuna” (“Liberty Tribune”) issued in Paris, where he shared Nanuashvili's opinions about conquered nations and Russia's aggressive policy. (Janelidze, 2013., p. 292).

The very first review of V. Nanuashvili's brochure "The Strength and Weakness of the U.S.S.R.: What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia" (1956), 16 chapters of which later became the basis of the book published in 1973, belongs to Lev Eugene Dobriansky (1918–2008). As we mentioned above, he was the author and lobbyist of the Captive Nations Week Resolution, and chairman of the editorial board of the journal “The Ukrainian Quarterly”. He reviewed V. Nanuashvili’s brochure in this journal in September 1958, vol, XIV, number 3 (Dobriansky, 1958., pp. 278–281). L. Dobriansky positively evaluates this work and notes that “The book contains perspectives and ideas which most Americans will find challenging and thought-provoking.... This is particularly important for those American agencies which persist in aiding Russian emigres who are professedly anti-communist but are at one with the Russian Communists when it come to the preservation of the “eternal” Russian Empire” (Dobriansky, 1958., p. 280). He also gives the advice: “Those who find “Russia” an enigma, others who cannot comprehend the gyrations and zig-zags of and ideas with most Americans foreign policy, and the many who naively trust in “human nature” as the basis for a truly peaceful coexistence with the Russian Communist Empire might well turn to this work for the solution of their pressing intellectual problems on this and related subjects.”(Dobriansky, 1958., p. 278).

It should be noted that in the 60s of the 20th century, the scientific and strategic centers studying Russia and the Soviet Union in the USA were not interested in Nanuashvili's book; He was also not named in the works of such researchers as: Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carr E. H, Richard Edgar Pipes, Hosking G. A.; However, this kind of circumstances still does not

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diminish its importance. (Janelidze, 2013., p. 295). It is clear from V.Nanuashvili's personal archive that several American military colleges requested him to purchase the book.

### 3. Conclusion

#### Acknowledgment

This paper is an output of the science project “The Letters from the Son of the “Captive Nations” to John F. Kennedy, R. Nixon, and R. Reagan.” A Georgian emigrant, N. Nanuashvili, as a representative of one of the "Captive Nations" —Georgia—in the 1950s and 1970s struggled against the Soviet regime. He lived in the US, where he published articles and books to show the free world the real face of the Russian Communist Empire, to get to know the Russian state better, and avoid the dangers coming from it.

He sent his publications and letters to American politicians, hoping that his experience and his years of struggle for the independence of Georgia would be some slight use to the West during the “Cold War.”

V. Nanuashvili’s publications are the picture of the USSR "from the inside." He notes that this is the vision and opinion of the majority representatives of the captured and enslaved peoples of the USSR.

In N. Nanuashvili’s publications, Russia is presented as a state that will never relinquish the idea of the world domination and one of the biggest conquerors of the world. N. Nanuashvili gives arguments that Communism was organically integrated into the internal structure of Russia, that Russia’s aggression is not solely an action of the Communist Party, and that conquest is a characteristic of the Russian tradition.

Although Nanuashvili's book "What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia" (1973) was quite popular among Georgian emigrants, it unfortunately did not find such a wide response among American and Western politicians as its author had expected.

V. Nanuashvili's hitherto unknown letters to American politicians are a new additional material in the study of the political emigrant thinking of the Georgian emigrant heritage. Modern political reality confirms that V. Nanuashvili correctly predicted the collapse of the Red Empire - the Soviet Union and the release of the "Captive Nations". Also, his opinion turned out to be correct, that Russia's aspiration to world domination and conquests will not change. The foreign policy of the modern Russian Federation, as the legal heir of the Soviet Union, is not based on the equal cooperation of free countries, and the idea of its domination over other peoples has not disappeared.

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